

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August-November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August-September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some talks and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Satchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinal.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Rinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jesse Cheekpanyerga and Mark

115 Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

194	a	as in father	ä	as in but
104	ä	hat		
	e	fate	ë	met
	i	pique	ï	pin
	o	note	ö	not
	u	rule	ü	put
	ω	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: ähd, water, ähd, cottonwood tree; kədd'ä, coyote, kədd'ä, left hand; ädd'ä, a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), ädd'ä, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to t (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

121 Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

128 I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

114 The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature
 • 127 is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield
 101 for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical
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162 Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

000 Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

582 Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postponement of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1938, 223). Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

582 Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former
127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other sources for both bride and groom. (See Table 1 for presentation of this and other information.)

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In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 26.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 18.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages 21 to 35, while the previously married grooms were 35 and 41 years old. The youngest bride was 12, and the eldest 18.

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For comparison, data pertaining to 12 marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage, in which the wife was the elder, is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 34.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from age 19 to 34. Previously unmarried females ranged from 14 to 20 years of age. Previously married grooms were 29 to 50 years old, with a mean age of 30.3 years, while previously married brides were 26 to 36 years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and is the mother of six children, the first two of whom are illegitimate, while her husband has not been married previously.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individual spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 39.3 years were marrying their second or

[Text continues on page 106] -105-

Foreword

121 **A** GAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletin, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

122 The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

000 The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Tormey, President

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515
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Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541
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Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers teach the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868
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As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481
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When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763
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RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,⁽¹⁾ from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pison log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, *History of Arizona*; and The Madman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115
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